/87 cont./

850 public, without their being any stable domestic life between man and woman." He continues discoursing (misleading or misled) upon "the period of transition from the promiscuous horde to the clan" with polygyny and polygamy at will, arriving (after such a long road) at the family, "which perhaps was formed parallel" with the previously described plural forms.

190. It would be very lengthy and beside the point if we were to set out to investigate the development of human organi - zation in general /88/ or, in particular, of the Caribe Indians, to which race the Pemón belong. Let us get to the point. And the point is that these literary deliriums, which are repugnant to the senses, are rejected both by prehistory and by modern ethnography. Both of these together tell us that at the beginning was and is the family, the biological, economic, and cultural unit, the basis of all other consociations. It is possible that many races do not develop beyond the family organization, but none of them comes down from this rung or from this minimum level, which is not reached after lengthy evolutions but which was the state in which mankind was constituted.

● 621 This is precisely the situation of the Pemón Indians. After several centuries (who knows how many), they do not go beyond the limits of the family with regard to organization, a con- sociation for obtaining food (and in general the mutual aid of the consorts) and raising children; that is, the preservation of the individuals and the perpetuation of the species. They are, therefore, a horde, not in the previously mentioned sense, but as a "group of families descending from a common trunk and who live in a specific territory."

621 622 191. The whole organization of the Indian captains or tusaué, beginning with the name, is an exotic one, imposed by missionaries or explorers (commercial or scientific), who conceived of the life of the Indians as molded like our own. Among them there only exists the epurú, a generic word derived

/88 cont./

621 622 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc., 592 621 622 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 571 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 578 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings [123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 162 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

/90 cont./

583 584 [593] 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 606 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 622 643 [651] 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization, the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 [622] And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone [264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better, [554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is 756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621 622	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipún.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) - 37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-nopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley - 11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
336 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few
[285] centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

● 621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or
[101] two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

342 343 824 [768]

342 343 The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

621 592 342 343 [166] In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

592 768 [764] F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [See pp. 115 and 822, Category 116 - Analyst]

[2] [See p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 [131] The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar, of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they 648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend 643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo [178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region 171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general 178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important co-operative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living 621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such
621 persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-
622 bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called toʾ-esaʾ, but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the
[621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its toʾ-esaʾ, and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most
[578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the toʾ-esaʾ is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as
[183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no
643 authority beyond the very local one of their respective toʾ-esaʾ. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal
643 group superior to the local autonomy of the toʾ-esaʾ. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point
[191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a toʾ-esaʾ over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.